2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

LANGUAGE

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● 174 According to Professor A. N. Samoilovich, the well-known Russian Turcologist,[1] Yakut is an independent subgroup of the northeastern division of the Turkic stock. As compared with other Turkic languages Yakut reveals considerable deviation from the general type of Turkic dialects. Consequently, it may be surmised that the Yakut Turks separated from the other Turkic peoples in very remote times, after which even their language developed quite independently and uninfluenced by other Turkic languages. This resulted in a difference between Yakut and the other Turkic languages so great that the prominent Turcologist, the late academician, W. W. Radloff, contended that the Yakut were not of Turkic origin, but may have become Turkicized within relatively recent times.[2] The characteristic peculiarities of the Yakut language he states, do not bear witness to their remote separation from other Turks; on the contrary, they show rather that the Yakut are only a Turkicized tribe of non-Turkic origin.[3] But Radloff's opinion can hardly be accepted, because the characteristic peculiarities of Yakut reveal many archaic traits. For example, the partial case, or genetive distributive, is formed by suffixes *ta*, *da*, *la*, *na*, and others; for instance, *uta* (from *u*, water) *asal*, bring water, meaning, some water. It corresponds to the Orkhon, *subda*, of the water. The Yakut ending, *tar*, for the conditional mood, corresponds to the suffix *sar* of the Uigur and Orkhon languages. These two suffixes are sufficient to show that the Yakut language has preserved grammatical forms which were observed in other Turkic languages from the seventh to the ninth centuries of our era.

I wish to sketch the Yakut grammar briefly, following mainly the new grammar of S. V. Yastremsky, who kindly sent me a copy of his manuscript, which has been presented to the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad and which will be published in the near future by the Academy.

The Harmony of Vowels

[197]
194 The harmony of vowels in Yakut resembles the harmony of vowels in Kara-Kirghiz and the Altaian Turkic dialects. It consists in the assimilation of all the vowels of a word to the vowel of the first syllable. Two rules are observed: first, all Yakut words consist of syllables having exclusively laryngeal or palatal vowels; second, a syllable containing a

[1] Samoilovich, A. N., *Some Additions to the Classification of Turkic Languages*. Petrograd, 1922 (In Russian). 8, 13.
[2] Radloff, *ibid.*, 51.
[3] Radloff, *ibid.*, 52.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

776 782 ● 174 We have previously seen how carefully the Yakut allotted their spirits to different worlds and cardinal points. The *Abasy*, however, appear to dwell partly in the upper world and partly in the lower one. Further, to those *Abasy* (plur. *Abasylar*) who dwell only in the upper world horses are sacrificed, while to the *Abasy* of the lower world only horned cattle are offered. These spirits have their own households and cattle; but the upper *Abasy* have only horses while the lower ones have only horned cattle. While the *Ajÿsyt* (the goddess of birth) of horses appears to be a man-spirit, the *Ajÿsyt* of horned cattle is a woman spirit. This difference alone leads us to believe that we have here a compound of two conceptions of nature, the result of a consolidation of two different cultures. The man's *Ajÿsyt* is a woman to whom are addressed pleas for children, while prayers for the increase of horses and horned cattle are addressed to the earth's spirit owner. Why were only horses and not horned cattle consecrated to the supreme being, *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon*?

756 326 174 We have previously seen that *udahan* is a Mongol word and that *us* (smith) is Turkic. The Yakut, when comparing the power of black shamans and smiths, regard the latter as more powerful. They make no comparisons with reference to the *udahan's* power, but say that *udahans* are more powerful than men-shamans. The Yakut preserved the names of their former white shamans, but not those of white women-shamans. From this we might infer that white shamanism was not an aboriginal institution, and that black shamanism is a transformation of female shamans after their functions were transferred to men. No tales of white smiths (smiths working with copper and silver) are extant, but accounts of black smiths (iron smiths) relate that they are more powerful than black shamans. This leads us to the belief that the concept of black smiths and women-shamans appeared as ready-made institutions among the Yakut.

776 764 We will cite another example. We have previously mentioned the upper and lower *Abasy* spirits, that the former possess horses (and also demand horses as sacrifices) and the latter, horned cattle. At burials the horse of the deceased was killed and buried with its master. Such horses had a special name, *xolynga*. At home a mare was killed in memory of the deceased. It was called *ūlā asa*, the worker's food, and was for those who made all the preparations for the burial. Later, a cow was substituted for the mare. When the number of horses decreased, the dead horse was not buried, but eaten at home. Still later, the flesh of a cow was eaten instead of a horse.

From the above it is obvious that the pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut require further investigation to disentangle the different layers.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

time. Yakut pots are easily broken and remain porous until milk has been repeatedly boiled in them. The rims, the upper part, and sometimes the whole pot, are ornamented by impressions made with wooden stamps (*kūōs oyūlūr mas*, wood for ornamenting pottery). These design motives have special names; for instance, Fig. 53*d*, is called *tyñyrachtach torduya;* Fig. 53*g* is *biltägir*.

Though pottery-making was known to the Yakut since neolithic times it never developed into a real art. This may be explained partly by their early acquaintance with the manufacture of metals, particularly iron, which among the Yakut preceded that of bronze. Clay vessels came to be used more frequently as containers for liquids than as cooking utensils. However, fluids cannot be kept in them a long time without spoiling. After cooking the pot is cleaned with an iron scraper called *kāsïr* (Fig. 48) and dried.

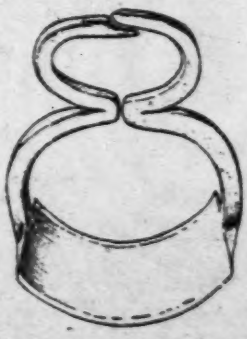

Fig. 48 (70-8775). An Iron Scraper for Clay Cooking Pots.

The forms of clay vessels vary; the commonest is an egg-like shape, the flat bottom of which is much smaller than the mouth. As may be seen from the illustration (Fig. 49*a–d*) the tea pots and charcoal stoves (Fig. 49*a*, *c*) to keep them warm are made after the Russian fashion. The size ranges from small cups for children to vessels capable of holding four to six gallons.

Additional evidence of the antiquity of the industry among the Yakut appears in the Turkic names for pottery-making implements and vessels. A clay pot is called *kūōs;* a metal kettle is called *salyr*. Even in places where, as in the northern districts of Yakut Province, no pottery is made at present, the word *kūōs* is well known and used as a linear measure. In terms of linear measure one may say, "one pot," "two pots," "pot of a walker, horse, or ox rider." For *kūōs* (pot) the Yakut understand a distance of from seven to twelve versts (from 6.6 to 8 miles). Translating *kūōs* in terms of time, it means a period during which a pot with meat for an average family is cooked. In Afghanistan *kūōs* is used as a linear measure of about eighteen miles. Böhtlingk[1] distinguishes the word *kūōs* as a unit of time from *kōs* as a linear measure as does Pekarsky in his Yakut-Russian dictionary, where he interprets *kōs* as a term for a day's journey from one camping place to another.

The Yakut do not know how to wash clay or to temper it, using it as it is found, with all its impurities, quartz and other non-plastic materials

[1] Böhtlingk, *ibid.*

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

At the market at Yakutsk I have seen white clay pottery made with the potter's wheel. These wares were made by Russians. I could not learn, however, the origin of the white clay.

The Yakut of the northern districts of Yakut Province, Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk, of the lower course of the Lena, and of the villages on the Olenek, Khatanga, and Anabara rivers, neither use pottery nor have any knowledge of its manufacture, but utilize iron and copper utensils. It is curious that they do not know that their southern relatives from whom they separated about two hundred fifty years ago still use and make pottery. This is surprising since there are passages in folk tales referring to clay pots.

The fate of Yakut pottery demonstrates the possible differences in the sequence of development of culture. Among civilized nations the ceramic art has been perfected simultaneously with the development in the production and manufacture of metals. With the Yakut, as with other Siberian tribes, the opposite occurred. For instance, the present Kamchadal and Koryak do not know that their forefathers made pottery, but archaeological excavations[1] by the author on Kamchatka Peninsula and within the territory of the Koryak brought to light ancient specimens of their pottery. Compared with the Koryak and Kamchadal, however, the Yakut are relatively much more advanced in culture having, in the past, been affiliated with other civilized Turkic nations of southwestern Asia.

Metals

At present the Yakut are acquainted with iron, copper, bronze, silver, gold, tin, and lead. All these metals, except tin and lead, still retain their old Turkic names: iron, *timir;* copper, *altan*, red copper, *jas altan*, yellow copper; brass, *üös altan* or *ürüñ altan;* bronze, *čyañ* (after Sieroszewski); silver, *kömüs* or *ürüñ kömüs* (white *kömus*); gold, *kysyl kömüs* (red silver); tin, *xolholyun;* lead, *sibinäs*, *xolholyun* is a Mongol word and *sibinas* a Russian word (*svinetz*).

Iron. Iron (*timir*) is historically and economically the most important metal among the Yakut who were acquainted with the reduction of iron ores and iron manufacture before reaching their present abode. There are no data to prove that they worked iron before they learned the manufacture and use of copper, bronze, and other metals. In central Siberia, on the Yenisei and Angara rivers, ancient sites have been discovered on which remains of the late neolithic period were found

[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, Archaeological Investigations in Kamchatka (*Carnegie Institution of Washington*, No. 388, Washington 1928), 69–76.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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mixed with Iron Age objects. One may therefore surmise that places abandoned in the neolithic period were later occupied by iron workers. In the Irkutsk District Professor Petri discovered a genuine iron (not mixed with other metals) age site in the valley of the Murina River, a tributary of the Kuda, which empties into the Angara River. Remains of earth huts similar to those of the present Yakut were found. The people were cattle breeders as was evidenced by the bones of oxen. Here were also found fragments of pottery, slag, furnaces, pipes, and a prehistoric mine shaft leading to layers of iron ore.

On one site was discovered part of a clay furnace about two feet high and one and a half feet in diameter, above which were alternating layers of iron ore and charcoal. The mixture was fired and air was blown in from below through pipes by means of bellows. During the smelting process charcoal and ore were added from above. The metal thus obtained was removed by destroying the furnace. Remains of such iron foundries have been discovered as far west as the Minussinsk country, i.e., over the entire route alleged to have been traversed by the Yakut to reach the Lena Valley.

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At present, iron mining is concentrated in different localities of Viliui and Yakutsk districts. Some *nasleg*s of the Markhinsky and Verkhne-Viliuisk *uluses* in the Viliuit District are noted for their iron mining and smelting, as well as some *nasleg*s of the East Kangalasky *ulus*, namely the clans living on the Small Batom and Tyukan rivers in Yakutsk District.

The present process of iron mining and smelting does not deviate from the prehistoric method described above. Iron is reduced to the metallic state, as described by Sieroszevski[1] and Maak[2] in jug-shaped furnaces 3 feet 8 inches high and 3 feet wide at their greatest width, which is usually about 14 inches from the base. The fire clay walls of the furnace are 1½ to 2 inches thick. The furnace is enclosed in a log framework filled in with clay to retain the heat and make it firm. In the lower part of the furnace is a damper for removing the pig iron. Before the operation the damper is closed and covered with a layer of clay. A fire is built and ore and charcoal placed in the furnace from above. The fire is kept burning by blowing on it with bellows and ore and charcoal are added fifteen to twenty times. After the pig iron is separated from slag and repeatedly heated and hammered, soft iron and occasionally steel is obtained. The Yakut prefer it to the imported

[1]Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, 381.
[2]Maak, *ibid.*

6: Sauer--111-112 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 174, 578

"The first intelligence that Russia obtained of these people was in 1620, when they were discovered by the Cossacs that inha-[112]bited the Mangazey. At that time they were divided into many tribes; and the dissensions that existed among them contributed to their being subdued."

7: Shklovsky -- 44 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 174, 192

"The Yakuts settled on the banks of the Lena, having left the shores of Baikal, whence they had been driven by the Bouriat tribe, After the Yakuts' revolt under Djennik (seventeenth century), their leader, a remnant escaped and reached Kolyma, where they settled. They brought with them to this desert country traces of a higher civilisation. In their language there is a word for 'iron', although on the shores of the Kolyma the fugitives used tools made from mammoth tusks and stone. There are also words for 'agriculture,' 'to read', 'to write,' 'letter', and even the term 'learned' finds its equivalent in the Yakutian tongue. In the Far North-East all the ideas represented by these words are quite rudimentary."

7: Shklovsky --74-75 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-1-2
116. 174, 563, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"But what is the explanation of their abject fear of the haillak [RCH: i. e., the transported Russian criminal] and their subservience to him? One reason is of remote origin. The ancestors of the Kolymyan Yakuts were fugitive insurgents, who escaped after their defeat under Djennik, their leader. These people fled to Kolyma in deadly fear [75] after the horror of the suppression of the revolt. The ferocious tortures and executions of that time are still kept in remembrance by song and story from one generation to another. The Yakuts tremble at the mere mention of 'Russian,' and a haillak is to them the personification of all the cruel enemies mentioned in those terrible stories. The Yakut always calls him 'Tayon' (lord or master), and the haillak treats the Yakuts as his ancestors treated theirs, the poor savages enduring it all; indeed, they believe that the haillak is sent to them in order to make their lives bitter. That is one reason. Another is the absolutely unprotected condition of the Yakuts. The region is so vast that the solitary Russian official is unable to help them even if he wished to do so. It is terrible to speculate on the ultimate fate of these poor savages, when, as is probable, criminals will be sent in greater numbers to the remotest parts of Siberia. Then will the Farthest North-East be a veritable hell, where the groaning and torment of the wretched savages will never cease except with their lives.

Kind-hearted people tried to find out how to help a score or so of lepers-- a very laudable scheme--but perhaps kind-hearted people will also be found willing to find out

how to cure, not a few score,but the whole race of Yakuts of a not less terrible leprosy, which is eating away their morals and destroying their economic position; and the name of this leprosy is haillak."

7: Shklovsky --205 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 174, 61

"The Russians discovered the River Lena in 1628. Ten bold fellows, under the leadership of Vassili Bougor, travelled on skis from the Yenisei to this greatest of the north rivers, on the banks of which 150,000 Yakuts lived. The savages were divided into nine Oulooss (tribes) and each tribe into several clans or families. It must be remembered that the Yakuts brought with them from Lake Baikal traces of a rather higher civilisation; nevertheless, these ten bold adventurers managed to subdue this great people. All the ten were traders. In 1636 Captain B. came to the Lena and established stockaded settlements."

7: Shklovsky -- 207-208 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 174, 669, 687

"The conquered people were oppressed, tyrannised over, and tortured under the pretext of punishment for not paying the taxes, but they were not told the amount they ought to pay. Reduced to despair by robbery , torture, and execution, the Yakuts rebelled, but they were no match for the Russians with their firearms, and the rebellion was soon put down. This was followed by a succession of terrible punishments and executions. By order of Golovin, the Yakuts had their noses and ears cut off, eyes put out, or were buried alive in the ground up to the eyes. In the [208] prison at Yakutsk the torturers and the executioners were hard at work from morning till night. But, fortunately for the country, the Governors did not agree about the division of the booty and Gliyebof, who considered himself injured, sent such a very stong message of complaint to Moscow that in 1645 Soushellef, a secretary, was sent to Yakutsk to inquire into the matter, and next year Golovin was dismissed. He was sent to Tobolsk, where he was racked and unmercifully knouted. Two large manuscripts, weighing about a hundred pounds, were filled with the account of his misdeeds. After him a succession of governors was sent, but none remained long; most of them were arrested soon after appointment, but things were not on this account any easier for the Yakuts. Their condition became intolerable when, in July, 1675, Governor Andrew Bamishov was sent to Yakutsk. 'On his appointment,' says the chronicle of Moskvin, 'he took very stong measures, whether because of circumstances or of his own wish is not known, but during his period of office there were terrible exections every day by various cruel methods. The sufferers were Russian Dissenters and Yakutian chiefs."

7: Shklovsky -- 208-209 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut-1-2
116, 174, 669, 687

"It must be said that from the first year of its existence Yakutsk was the destination of exiled Dissenters and political offenders, the latter often arriving with their tongues cut. Governor Barnishov never sat down to table without having previously sent someone to capital punishment, which he gave for the most trifling offences. The victims were quartered, impaled, boiled alive in a cauldron, etc. [209] When the Governor happened to be in a good humour he, as a special favour, ordered hanging instead of the other methods; unfortunately, he was very seldom in a good humour. On the 3rd of July, 1678, this Governor was sent to Tobolsk for having received bribes. Then came Governor Priklonsky, in 1682, when the Yakuts made their last attempt at rebellion. They were joined by the Dissenters and some Cossacks who had married Yakutian wives, and the rebellion ended in the complete defeat of the insurgents. The leader, Djennik, the chief of the Kangalaks Oulooss, was taken wounded and sent to Yakutsk, where he died in the torture-chamber. He was flayed alive, his newly-born child wrapped in the skin, while the mother was put on the rack.

The remnant of the insurgents fled to the Vilui, the Yana, and the Kolyma, and on the banks of these rivers they settled. The fugitives brought to these far-away regions terrible accounts of their conquerors, and the dread of the Russians was so great that when, in the course of their campaign against the natives, the Russians came to the

7: Shklovsky -- 208-209 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-2
116, 174, 669, 687

Kolyma district they met with no resistance except from the Lamouts at the gorge of Ell-air-Sibiet (1)

1. In the mountains of Tass-Khayata, between the rivers Yana and Indigirka."

10: Bush--300 [3] T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 101, 174

"'Yakout' is a name given them by the Russians, for what reason I do not know. They formerly called themselves Zinzacha, or Zinzogotock, from one of their princes, and were composed of ten different subtribes, numbering altogether more than thirty thousand souls. They were originally united with the Bratti, a large tribe living in the neighborhood of Lake Baikal, but from these they subsequently seceded, and settled on the banks of the Lena."

11: Lansdell--299-300 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 101, 144, 161, 174

"Strahlenberg divides them into 10 tribes, and Syboreen's Almanack for 1876 gives their number at 210,000. They belong to the great Turk family, and hence their Siberian locality is remarkable, because the Turks [300] have ever been the people to displace others, whereas the Yakutes have been themselves displaced, and driven into this inhospitable climate, it is supposed, by the stronger Buriats."

11: Lansdell--304-305 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 104, 174, 197

"The language of the Yakutes, which is largely spoken by the Russians who live among them, is one of the principal means by which we are led to assume their Turkish origin, for Latham says their speech is intelligible at Constantinople, and their traditions (for literature they have none) bespeak a southern origin. [305]

Here are some Yakute words compared with Turkish:--

English.	Yakute.	Turk.	English.	Yakute.	Turk.
Yes	Sittee	Evet	One	Bare	Bir
No	Socht	Yokh	Two	Akee	Eekee
Well	Outchigey	Peky, Aee	Three	Oose	Ootch
Bad	Thoosahane	Fené	Four	Terte	Dort
Bread	Astobitt	Ek-mek	Five	Baiss	Besh
Water	On	Soo	Six	Alta	Altee
Beef	Augauss	Seyir	Seven	Sett	Yedee
Horse	Att	Att	Eight	Agaouss	Autuz
Road	Coll	Yol	Nine	Togouss	Tokuz
Man	Kissi	Kissi, Adami	Ten	Owni	On
Woman	Faiktorr	Aorat	Eleven	Onordoubis	On-bir
Tree	Marss		Twelve	Okorduchi	On-eekee
Rain	Samirr	Yaghmoor	Twenty	Surbia	Igirme"

16: Great Britain Admiralty --163 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 101, 131, 174

"The Yakuts occupy the valley of the Lena for almost its entire length: in the north they extend from the Khatanga to the Kolima, in the south from the sources of the Vilyui to the Sea of Okhotsk.

They call themselves Sokha or Sakhor; there is still in the neighbourhood of Minusink a Tartar tribe called Sekho, who may have retained the name from a time anterior to the northward migration of the Yakuts. They owe their name Yakut to their Tungus neighbours who call them Yako or Yakot. One branch is found between the Yenisei and Khatanga Rivers in the Government of Yeniseisk, who are known as Dolgans or Tolgans: they are a fishing, nomadic folk."

16: Great Britain Admiralty --164 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 174

"They were expelled from the Baikal region about the thirteenth century by the Mongol Buryats, and driven northwards. They had to go far north to escape the depredations of their Tungus neighbours, but they have now proved themselves considerably their superiors, and their settlements are extending south again, while the Tungus are giving way before their superior civilization. The Cossacks found them in 1620, at a time when they were the prey of internal dissensions."

17: Erman--262 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 174

"We came in the evening to the yurts of Nokhtuisk, fifty-five versts from Kamenovsk, which are inhabited by very thriving and intelligent Yakuts. Several of the men whom we met in the post-hut spoke Russian fluently, and were proud of this advantage. One of them, who had travelled several times to Irkutsk, entered into an argument with Mitléyev respecting the age of Yakutsk and Irkutsk. The Yakut maintained, and with reason, that the former of these capitals was first founded; but it was not till he said to the Kosak, 'Siberia was conquered 250 years ago, under the Tsar, Ivan Vasilevich,' that his learning was formally eulogized with the words 'Now I see that you have read the history of Siberia.' (1) The same Yakut said, in reply to a question of mine respect-

1. This man had probably received instruction in the public school of Yakutsk.

ing the relationship existing between his nation and the Buraets, that they were both of one descent, and that their languages were still very much alike. In saying this, he referred only to the present inhabitants of the sources of the Lena, whom he had seen himself; and in confirmation of his statement, we find that in the beginning of the seventeenth century, (1630,) when the Yakuts were just beginning to make the acquaintance of the Russians, they preserved the tradition, that they had dwelt at one time in the upper valley, close to the Buraets and Mongols, and were at length separated, in

consequence of a war, from those neighbours and kinsmen, and driven back into their present abodes."

17: Erman--272-273 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 233, 174

"The Yakuts living in the 62d degree of latitude, have far more trouble in keeping their cattle, than any other people devoted to the same kind of husbandry. They make long journeys to collect hay for the winter, yet they do not always find enough of it, but are often obliged to feed their oxen, from March to May, only on the willow and birch twigs, which they procure on the islands in the Lena. The further we examine into particulars, the greater must be our surprise, when we behold here for the first time, a thriving cattle-husbandry in the midst of deep snow and under terrible frosts; we involuntarily ask ourselves, how it came to pass that the Yakuts attached their existence to a domestic animal which is found nowhere else in Asia, under the same circumstances of climate. They have themselves a tradition, that they once brought their herds down the Lena, in boats from the sources of the river: but this is assuredly no explanation; it is only a proof that they are themselves sensible of the contrast between the climate they dwell under, and the nature of their domestic animal. I might more reasonably hold the cattle here to be a bequest from a preceding period; that is to say the rem[273]nant of a wild breed, which, in earlier periods of the earth's history, occupied this region in particular. The skulls of wild cattle are found very often in the Lena, and the lakes in the neighbourhood. Living and untamed individuals are to be seen beyond Behring Straits, on the coasts of Hudson's Bay; and doubtless, those dead cattle, as well as these living remnants, all belong to an age of the world, when the northern parts of the earth had a much milder winter than at present. There remained

17. Erman--272-273 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-2
116, 233, 174

here, instead of the long-haired American bison, the scattered bones of that original breed, and, thanks to the care of the Yakuts, their degenerated herds."

17: Erman--300-301 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 412, 301, 174, 531

"Long before the Russians came here, the other tribes of Yakuts got from those at Vilui iron axes, awls, and tools for stripping and dressing the hides; together with copper ornaments for their clothes and harness and the metal plates which they, like the Ostyaks, sew on their girdles. But even now when they [301] make use of European guns, every man among them still exercises the skill peculiar to the nation, in making the great knife, or dagger, which is carried under the sanayakh at the waistband. The Yakutian steel is easily distinguished from the Russian, by its being somewhat flexible; and yet blades made of it will cut copper and pewter as easily as the best European blades. The wooden handle of the knife is always ornamented, after the original fashion, with tin work; from which it is evident that they procured the materials from Nerchinsk, before the Russians knew any thing of the metals in that quarter. They cut figures in the wood, and cast the tin into the hollow; a large knob of the metal left at the top of the knife-handle, is then shaped with the chisel. The sheaths of these Yakutian daggers are made of birch bark, and covered with black leather, on which, again, are metal mountings, with straight-lined patterns engraved on them. I had occasion, once before, to mention some decisive proofs of the influence which the Siberians of the furthest north exercised on the civilizations of the Yakuts. Here, on the other hand, certain handicrafts, characteristic of nomadic life, and, above all, the art of working metals, evidently point to a connexion with the tribes at present inhabiting the southern steppes and mountains. The physical character, also, and language of the Yakuts decide in favour of the same view."

27: Coxwell--262 [2] B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 174, 233

"The Yakuts at one time lived in a region round Lake Baikal, but were pushed northwards by the Buryats and, from having been horsemen and herdsmen like the Kirghiz, they have learned to give their attention to fishing, hunting and reindeer breeding. They can keep their cattle and horses alive in the Polar circle, and have milch mares which afford as much milk as cows."

38: Dobell--13-14 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 171,174, 212

"As Yakutsk is the spot where the Yakuts, who are supposed to have migrated from some other part of Siberia, first made a settlement, I take this opportunity of giving to the readers what I have been able to collect on the subject of this horde, whose Tartar origin, according to my eyes, seems indisputably stamped in their features. There are credible proofs to adduce of their being descended from the Mongols, but their most probable origin is Tartar. On application to the chiefs of the horde, very little [14] light has been thrown on this subject, as they have no books, or written documents of any sort, and what has been derived from oral tradition is too imperfect and unconnected to afford any very satisfactory information. Their manners and customs resemble those of the Burettas: and indeed those of the Siberian tribes generally are very similar. The following facts however [RCH: see catagory 116, pp. 14-18] serve to establish the opinion of their having been descended from a race of Tartars living on the frontiers of the Government of Tobolsk, who call themselves Sagay, and who occupy a portion of the Barabinsky Step; or also from a tribe of Tartars of the same description living about Krasnoyarsk."

38: Dobell--14-15 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 101, 174, 197

"A Yakut's features and the expression of his countenance partake much more of the Tartar than of the Mongol race. His language also bears a strong affinity to that of the Tartars of Baraba, and he calls himself Saga, a name differing so little from Sagay, the name of the Barabinsky horde, that there is every reason to believe him descended from that people, [15] although dissimilar to them in some other respects, perhaps owing to a long separation, and the having intermixed with other tribes. As to the number of words of Mongol, Buretta, and Tongusee, found in their language, it proves nothing more than that they have either lived in the neighbourhood of, or intermixed with, those nations."

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

000 tribes, — such as the Gilyak, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee, and Yukaghir, — which were studied by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, were found to have a culture identical in many
101 respects with that of the North American tribes. The Yakut,
197 however, though at present living in the extreme northeast of
177 Siberia, are a typical representative of the culture of the nomadic horse and cattle breeding Turkish tribes of Central Asia. In spite of their present isolation from the other branches of the Turkish race, and their probable mixture with Mongols, Tungus, and others, the Yakut, in the course of their migrations, have preserved one of the oldest and purest dialects of the language spoken by the Kirghis, the Altaic tribes, the Siberian and European Tartars, and other Turkish peoples. In tracing the meaning of some Yakut words, I am indebted to my friend Mr. Edward Pekarski, the well-known authority on the Yakut language, for his assistance.

162 While none of the other tribes of the extreme northeast of
178 Asia are numerous, — each being composed of but a few thousands or even hundreds, and those often spread over large districts, — the Yakut, next to the Buryat (of whom there are about two hundred and seventy thousand), are the most numerous tribe of eastern Siberia, numbering some two hundred and fifty thousand. Regardless of the unfavorable conditions of life in their present territory, they are increasing numerically, and are showing capacity for higher material culture and intellectual progress.

174 According to some indications, the Yakut were separated from the other Turkish tribes of the steppes of central Asia and southern Siberia, and driven to the northeast by the Mongol hordes, at the time of the invasion of the conqueror Chinghis Khan. By the valley of Lena River they reached the country of their present abode, in their turn driving farther to the north and to the mountains, or assimilating, the ancient residents of the country, — the Tungus and Yukaghir. The Yakut brought to the far northeast of Siberia, not only their Turkish language, but also the whole of the comparatively high culture of Central-Asiatic horsemen, brought with them horses and cattle, introduced silver, iron, and copper work, the fashion in

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

dress and dress-ornamentation of the Tartaric peoples, the dualistic religious ideas, and the poetical folk-lore, of Western Asia.

In their old country they were principally horse-breeders. The horses were employed both as beasts of burden and as animals for riding; their skins were used for clothing; their flesh, for food; and kumiss, the fermented drink prepared from mare's milk, served not only as a stimulating beverage, but also as a most important nutritious food.[1] For a time after their arrival in their new abode, the horse was still their principal domestic animal, and kumiss their essential food; but gradually the climatic conditions of the country on the one hand, and contact with Russian culture on the other, have exerted a modifying influence, which is still operative, over both the mental and the material culture of the Yakut. A small part of the tribe in the extreme north of the Yakut province must have experienced a decadence of their former material life. This minority became reindeer-breeders, dog-breeders, or hunters, and fish-eaters. But even into these new lines of life the Yakut introduced more advanced methods.

The tribe as a whole, while engaged in horse and cattle breeding as their chief occupation, began to increase the number of their horned cattle at the expense of their number of horses. Of cow's milk they could make, for use during the long winter, butter, a kind of cheese, and some other milk products which cannot, as we shall see later, be made from mare's milk. The Russian gold-mining companies on the rivers Olekma and Vitim proved profitable buyers of these cattle, and this gave an impetus to the raising of them. Finally, the cultivation of cereal plants, borrowed from the Russians in the southern parts of the Yakut Province, where the climate allows of it, has made such progress in the last twenty years, that at present agriculture is the chief occupation, and bread the staple food, of many Yakut families of the District of Yakutsk, and particularly of that of Olekminsk. Nowadays large droves of horses, and

[1] Some travellers consider that the Yakut horse belongs to the present race of horses of the steppes of southwestern Siberia; but it is difficult to say whether the Yakut horse of to-day has any connection with the extinct horse, the fossil remains of which have been found in the polar regions of northeastern Siberia.

40 : Burr--52-53 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 174, 192, 563

"One day when I was sitting on deck enjoying a pipe in the fine autumn air, regretting the fading glories of the golden-tinted forest, a young girl in a plain print frock stared inquisitively at me. She was well proportioned, small and slender and comely enough, with cheerful bright eyes and a dark complexion. As she stared at me I addressed her in Russian and said good morning. She answered in the same language in a pleasant voice and inquired, was I not a foreigner? The ice was broken, and I asked her about her people. Yes, she was a Yakut; they could all speak Russian nowadays except the trappers in the remotest districts.

'Are your people related to the Tartars?' I asked her.

'Yes,' she replied; 'we and the Tartars have one ancestor, but very many years ago we broke [53] off from them and migrated to our present home.' Their language has diverged from the Tartar, and they must have separated before the arrival of Islam in Central Asia, for they were Shamanists, though most by now are Orthodox Christians. She told me that many Russians learn Yakut and marry native women, and their children are more Yakut than Russian.

'How do you say "I love thee" in your tongue?' I asked her.

'Min taptighbwin,' she answered, which certainly sounded an uncouth medium for the tender passion. She then told me that she was studying medicine and was on her way home to Yakutsk on holiday. From all accounts she would have plenty of scope for her profession among her own people."

40: Burr--152-153 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 101, 103, 174

"They call themselves Sakhá and their language sakhali. Possibly there is here a clue to the origin of the name of the gloomy island of Sakhalin, where it snows in winter and rains in summer, but there there are no Yakuts, only Oroks and Giliats. They call the Russians Nukhá, but I was unable to trace the origin or prime meaning of this word, any more than of the Russian name of Yakut. It is interesting to note that, at least on the middle Lena in the heart of their country, the place-names do not appear capable of interpretation in their language. In this [153] we may see evidence of their comparatively late arrival in these latitudes."

43: Karutz--74 E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 174, 177

On the upper Yenisei. north of the Baikal lake a nation was formed of early-eurasian and turco-tataric race elements: the Sochalar ('the men') as they call themselves, the Yakuts, as their neighbors called them. Pushed by the mongolic Buryats they wandered northward, between the Chatanga in the west, the Kolyma in the east, and the polar sea in the north, accommodated themselves to the tundra soil and new climate, and proved so vital as to influence all of their neighbors and even the Russians. Once horse and sheep breeders the Yakuts now became reindeer and cattle owners, hunters and fishermen, and, with a definite talent, merchants. It seems as if the ancient shamanic faculties had been changed into intellectual forces when the Russians came, and with them western materialistic civilization. Their best achievement in this line was the introduction of the horse to Northern Siberia.

46: Cottrell--137-138 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 101, 174

"From the similarity of some Turkish and Yakut words, they are supposed to be of Turkish origin, but all that is known of them is, that they formerly inhabited the country much farther south about the Angará; that [138] they were expelled from it by the Burates, and took refuge in their present abode. They call themselves Sakha, or Sakhaly in the plural, and the meaning of the word Yakut given them by the Russians is not known. As the Amur is called by the Mongols Sakhalien Ula, it would seem as if there is some connexion between them."

49: Findeisen -- 9-10 E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116, 101, 174, 197, 531

There is less known about Yakut history than about Buryat history. We only know in general that the Yakuts had their originary domiciles in southern regions; but there is no indication as to where this area is to be sought, and in what time the migration has to be put. The usual assumption is that the Yakuts left the Baikal lake area in the Mongolic era, i. e., in the 13th century, to go northward. There are, however, reasons against this hypotheses, especially the fact that there is not tradition on Gengis-khan among the Yakuts, unlike e. g., the Northern Buryats. That the Yakuts come from southern regions cannot be doubted. Aside from the numerous Yakut sagas on their migration, it may also be concluded from their ornamental art. The 'ram horn' ornament has so far especially aroused the interest of occasional investigators, though Yakut art includes other much more surprising elements, which will be more fully treated by this writer in a paper to be published before long. The question cannot here be insisted upon. -- That the Yakuts are a mixed people, is clear from their vocabulary [10], which includes 32. 5% Turkish, 25. 9% Mongolic and 41% non-Turkish and non-Mongolic elements. The Yakuts are probably a partly Mongolized Turkish tribe, which had been pushed northward in early times.

/130 cont./

122 provided almost our only food, in view of the lack of reindeer
123 meat. In laying out the nets, Boldonó used his own boat,
which held our attention because it was made out of poplar
114 wood. That is, in Middendorff (1) /131/ there is a note that
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137 1. Sibirische Reise /Siberian Journey/,
501 Vol. IV, Part 1, No. 4, p. 572.
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131] along the streams flowing into the Arctic Ocean west of the Olenék there are poplar boats, the material for which comes from the alluvial islands of the Olenék. Now, however, along the Olenék we had come across neither the aromatic poplar (Populus suaveolens Fisch.), which barely reaches the Tunguska (along it only one specimen was known to the population in the vicinity of Podwolótschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/ as a great rarity and this fell as an offering to science in 1873), nor the aspen (Populus tremula L.), which likewise has its arctic boundary much more to the south. To be sure, we heard that the first-named poplar occurs on some tributaries of the Olenék, indeed, even very far to the north, namely on the little Tyrachtán River, which empties into the Nákukyt River, therefore probably about 70° latitude, but it is said to be very rare everywhere and of so little thickness that it cannot be used for any kind of work. Therefore where did those poplar boats come from? Boldonó's boat came from the Lena, brought from there by his father. If Middendorff's statement does not simply rest on an error, he perhaps means the islands at the mouth of the Olenék, where possibly poplar trunks from the more easterly Siberian rivers, but not from the Olenék, might have been deposited by the sea.

122 On August 17 we saw a young reindeer on the bank and
123 soon afterward a human dwelling. A stop was made, and while I quickly made my magnetic observations, for which I now rarely found time, Boldonó went across the river and after some time appeared in the company of an oldish Jakuten /Yakut/. We had hoped to acquire in him a talkative successor to our all too silent guide, but in vain. Even less could be gotten out of

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

permafrost at a depth of one or two meters, but it does not prevent plant life. The taiga flora consists predominantly of larch, as well as some birch and pine. The animal world is rich and varied, containing squirrel, Siberian ferret, ermine, hare, fox, bear, wolverine, elk, blue fox, wild reindeer, musk deer, etc.; the species of birds are numerous and in the lakes and rivers there is an abundance of carp, different types of salmon, sturgeon, and so on. 13

The distribution of Yakuts throughout the territory of the Republic is extremely uneven. About nine-tenths of them are concentrated in the central regions—in the former Yakutskiy and Vilyuyskiy Okrugs. These are the two principal groups of Yakuts, the first being slightly larger in number than the second. The "Yakutiyan" (or Amga-Lena) Yakuts occupy a rectangle between the Lena, Lower Aldan and Amga, the taiga plateau, and also the adjoining left bank of the Lena. The "Vilyuy" Yakuts occupy the Vilyuy Basin. It is among these basic Yakut regions that the most typical, purely Yakut way of life has developed; it is here that it has been studied most thoroughly, particularly on the Amga-Lena plateau. The third, considerably smaller group of Yakuts is to be found in the region of Olekminsk. The Yakuts of this group are more Russified, and their way of life (though not their language) has become closer to the Russian. And, finally the last group, the smallest but most widely spread, is the population of the northern regions of Yakutiya, the basins of the Kolyma, Indigirka, Yana, Olenek and Anabar rivers. 162 101

The northern Yakuts are distinguished by a completely original cultural way of life: in this respect they are closer to the smaller hunting-fishing peoples of the North, the Tungus and Yukagirs, than their southern fellow tribesmen. These northern Yakuts are even, here and there, known as Tungus (for example, on the upper reaches of the Olenek and Anabar), although in language they are Yakuts and call themselves Sakha.

In language the Yakuts are monolithic. There are no dialects, there are only slight regional differences; for example, in the southern part, the Amga-Lena plateau, there is akan'ye [pronunciation of an unstressed "o" as "a"] and in the north and on the Vilyuy there is okan'ye [pronunciation of the unstressed "o" as "o"].

The earliest history of the Yakut district has become known only during the last few years through archeological research, chiefly through the efforts of A. P. Okladnikov. Paleolithic campsites have been found on the Upper and Middle Lena. During the Neolithic man already inhabited the entire course of the Lena, probably together with its tributaries and other Yakutiyan rivers. The neolithic tribes led the seminomadic life of hunters and fishermen. Even then there were signs of economic and cultural ties between the population of the Lena district and the more southern, easterly and western regions of Siberia. These ties became stronger during the Bronze Age. It was even recently widely believed in science that the population of Yakutiya was itself never able to work bronze, and that it obtained bronze objects from the Baykal regions and the Upper Yenisey. It has now been proved (by Okladnikov) that bronze was worked in Yakutiya itself, and, moreover, that the population carried on lively exchange with the tribes of southern Siberia, from whom they first learned about bronze. 172

Were these ancient tribes of the Lena district the ancestors of the present-day Yakuts? The problem of the origin of the Yakut people is one of the most complicated ones in the history of the Siberian peoples. It has a long history of its own, in fact. But until recently the solution was sought in an entirely different way; it was assumed that in origin the Yakuts were 174

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

completely unconnected with the ancient inhabitants of the Lena district and that they constituted an element which migrated there. 174

Back in the 17th–18th centuries, the view was expressed in literature (by Isbrand Ides, Stralenberg, Miller, Gmelin, Fischer and others) that the Yakuts were a people who had come from the south, specifically from the Baykal region. This view, which was later developed and substantiated (particularly at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries) by ethnographers, became the traditional theory of the "southern origin of the Yakuts," a theory which even today is predominant. [114]

This theory is based, first, on the existence among the Yakuts themselves of legends relating that their ancestors once lived in the Baykal region and were driven away by the Buryats, and, second, on the undoubted evidence of cultural ties between the Yakuts and the nomadic steppe to the south; this evidence is, first and foremost, the Turkic origin of the Yakut language, and the pastoral economy of the Yakuts, together with a number of related elements of material culture (leather utensils, the preparation of kumys, butter, riding and pack saddles and so on), certain aspects of dress, and so on. All these phenomena of the language and culture of the Yakuts single them out clearly from the surrounding taiga peoples and bring them closer to the distant Turkic-speaking (to some extent Mongolic-speaking) population of southern Siberia and Central Asia. On the basis of these facts, the traditional theory considers the Yakuts to be an immigrant people who once lived in the Baykal region (according to some investigators they lived still earlier on the Upper Yenisey, in the Uryankhay district and even in Turkestan). It was later—in the 13th and 14th centuries, according to the prevalent opinion, though asserted by some to be much earlier—that the Yakuts were driven from there to the north, and to the Middle Lena, where they settled down, displacing the earlier settlers, the Tungus, from those parts. The Tungus, incidentally, were partly assimilated by the Yakuts, who borrowed certain elements of taiga culture from them (hunting, etc.).

This conception of the origin of the Yakuts undoubtedly contains a grain of truth, since it is based on obvious facts; but it is clearly one-sided and oversimplifies the problem. The advocates of this theory underrate the complexity and originality of Yakut culture; in explaining the origin of some aspects of it which indeed link it with the nomadic steppes, this theory at the same time ignores other, equally important and abundant cultural evidence linking the Yakuts with their neighbors, the hunting peoples of the taiga. On the other hand, the actual penetration of pastoral-nomadic cultural elements into the Middle Lena (which is an undisputed historical fact) cannot be depicted, as used to be the case, in the form of the extremely unlikely simultaneous mass migration of an entire people 2500 miles through dense, practically uninhabited taiga into unfamiliar lands of the north.

Contemporary Soviet scholars (Okladnikov and Tokarev) do not deny the presence of southern elements in the makeup of the Yakut population and culture, but they attempt to find another explanation for them. First of all, it was only recently that due attention was given to the complexity and heterogeneity of Yakut culture. Anthropological data (those of M. G. Levin) show that there are at least two racial components in the Yakut population, one of which (the predominant one) is very close in type to the western Buryat, while the other is most likely related to the ancient population of the Siberian taiga. Ethnographic data show the existence of certain autochthonous taiga hunting elements in the Yakut culture, alongside the southern, pastoral elements. With regard to the Yakut language, 174 114

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

most of the vocabulary and the grammatical structure are undoubtedly Turkic in origin. At the same time, the language contains a considerable number of loan words from the Mongol and Tungus languages. Academician V. V. Radlov (1908) put forward the hypothesis that the vocabulary, phonetic structure, and even the grammatical structure of the Yakut language has a pre-Turkic, more ancient stratum of partly Mongol and partly indeterminate origin.

The latest research, admittedly, has not confirmed this hypothesis; hence the problem of non-Turkic elements in the Yakut language requires further study. Analysis of the names of the Yakut tribal-clan groups (known from 17th-century documents and also from later data) confirms that the Yakut population is further made up of immigrant groups from the south. To judge by the names, these include the present-day Batulins, Khorins, Tumats, Ergits, and some other clans and naslegs[1]. It may be considered that pastoral groups, taking their nomadic culture with them, gradually infiltrated the Middle Lena Basin from the south, from the Baykal regions. One of the principal groups of these migrants from the south was evidently the Kurykans—a Turkic people inhabiting the western Baykal region in the 9th and 10th centuries. Since some of the Kurykans clearly contributed to the composition of the western Buryats later on, this explains many features of similarity in the culture of the western Buryats and Yakuts and the wide distribution of the same anthropological type among both of them.

The trek northwards was gradual and took a long time. In the Amga-Lena watershed, under conditions favorable for pastoralism, these newly arrived groups settled down, establishing contact with the local hunting-fishing population. In the process of economic and cultural contact, there was gradual absorption of the local population by the newcomers. A higher, pastoral type of economy and southern elements of culture, as well as the Turkic language, became predominant.

Such is the ethnogenesis of the Yakuts in the light of present-day knowledge.

Precise historical accounts of the Yakuts only date from the time of their first contact with the Russians, that is to say, 1620, and annexation to the Russian State. At that time the Yakuts were not a single political unit, but were divided into a number of independent tribes. Tribal relations were already decomposing, however, and there was a fairly clearly marked class stratification. The tsarist voyevods and soldiery took advantage of the intertribal strife to break the resistance of some of the Yakut population; they also took advantage of the class differences within it by pursuing a policy of systematic support of the ruling aristocratic clique, the princelings (toyons), whom they turned into their own agents for purposes of governing the Yakut district. From that moment on, the class differences among the Yakuts began to become more clearly marked.

The Yakut masses led a hard life. They paid tribute in sable and fox furs, had to perform a number of other compulsory services and were exploited by the tsarist soldiery, Russian merchants and their own toyons. After several unsuccesful uprisings (1634, 1636-1637, 1639-1640, and 1642), and after the toyons had gone over to the side of the voyevods, the Yakut masses could only retaliate against the oppression by sporadic attempts at resistance and flight from their native ulusy to outlying parts.

[1] A territorial and population unit; originally, the members of a single camp, now equivalent to the rayon.—Ed.

SS. /92 cont./
101 questions concerning the peoples of the Amur region will only
121 rarely be found in the following pages. There are only very
SS. (174) few definite, undeniable, self-evident facts in this direction,
but many appearances and circumstances which can be connected
in combinations and surmises that have a certain degree of
probability.

SS. There can hardly be any doubt but that in the Amur region
174 in the historical period, too, many changes and shifts in the
167 habitation sites of its peoples have taken place. How could
648 the great movements of peoples which demonstrably took place
all around the Amur region not have sent waves also into the
Amur region? And how is it conceivable that the many wars for
which the Amur region has been the theater or in which many of
its peoples have taken part would not also have caused many a
change in their areas of distribution? One need only remember
that before the Manchu conquered the imperial throne of China
in the seventeenth century, their ancestors had already risen
through successful warfare to be the rulers of this mighty empire
twice: the first time as Khitan or Liao in the tenth century
(907-1125) and then in the twelfth century (1125-1243) as
Jutschi /93/ (Njutschi, Dschurdschi) or Kin /Chin/, as their
dynasty called itself on the throne. Of necessity the entire
southern Amur region was involved when these warlike hordes
broke out of their forests and mountains. The immediately sub-
sequent movement of the Mongols under Genghis Khan and his
successors, which itself arose in the source area of the Amur
River and, among other things, broke the power of the Kin in
China, in turn brought forth a series of migrations of peoples that
must have extended from the west and north even into the Amur
region. When the Buryat, a Mongolian tribe, advanced to the
174 source country of the Amur River and beyond, to Lake Baikal,
167 they came into contact at the latter with the Turkish-Tatar
648 original dwellers on it, the Yakut, who, retreating before the
intruders, descended into the Lena Valley and spread northward

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/93 cont./
along this river (1). There, however, they in turn encountered

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1. According to Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743 /Journey Through Siberia from 1733 to 1743/, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. II, pp. 344, 345), even in his time there was among the Yakut an old story about the pressure that they had suffered from the Buryat, which had caused them to move down the Lena Valley. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. VI, 1761, p. 147; Fischer, Sibir. Gesch. /Siberian History/, St. Petersb., 1768, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109; Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the Northland/, Halle, 1771, p. 416; Stepanov", Eniseisk. gub. /Yenisei Province/, St. Petersburg, 1835, Part II, p. 45; Ritter, Asien, Vol. II, p. 5; Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibir. /A Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, pp. 1542, 1545. Even the name "Baikal" is said to be of Yakut origin and to mean something like "abundant waters" (cf. Laxmann, Sibirische Briefe /Letters from Siberia/, ed. by Schlözer, Göttingen, 1769, p. 37, note).

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many Tungusic tribes who put up a stubborn resistance against them and, as it still survived vigorously in the last century in their traditions, only retreated after many bloody battles (2).

2. Gmelin, op. cit., p. 345; Müller,

Y 174 167 648

/93 cont./

2. (cont.)
op. cit., pp. 150, 151; Fischer, op. cit., p. 110; Schlözer, loc. cit.

T 174 167 648 [114]

While part of the Tungus retreated to the west, to the Yenisei (3),

3. Stepanof (Eniseiskaia gub., Part II, p. 43) shifts the time when the Tungus came to the Yenisei to the twelfth or thirteenth century, which is probably too far back, since they were not pushed out of their sites on Lake Baikal by the Buryat until the fourteenth century (see Middendorff, loc. cit.).

another part was pushed toward the extreme north up to the Arctic Sea, and still others moved eastward along the right tributaries of the Lena to the Stanovoi Mountains, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Amur region. Since the tough and vigorous Yakut did not stop their expansion until they had reached the shores of the Arctic Sea in the north, the northwest, and the northeast (4), the migrations among the Tungus and other

Y 174 167 648

4. See Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 1324, 1467, 1543, concerning the gradual advance of the Yakut in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the Lena Valley up to the coasts of the Arctic Sea, as well as in the northwest to the Taimyr region and in the northeast to the Jana /Yana/, Indigirka, Kilyma, and in our century even up to the Sea of Okhotsk. Their many advances into the Amur region have been noted repeatedly above.

Y 174 167 648 /93 cont./ peoples (5) occasioned by it must have continued for a long time

YR [174] [167] [113]

5. For instance, among the Yukagir, the Tschuwanz /Chuvan/, and others. Some also see in this the cause that led the original inhabitants of the extreme north, such as, for example, the Omok, relatives or the ancestors of the Yukagir (see above, pp. 2 and 3), to leave the mainland, according to legend, and to emigrate to a still unknown polar region; for example, Markham (see Whymper, Trav. and advent. in the territ. of Aliaska, London, 1868, p. 251), Neumann (Izv. Sibirsk. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. III, Irkutsk, 1872, p. 34; Vol. IV, p. 155), and others.

SS 174 167 648 in the directions indicated. But these waves had not yet subsided when a new movement of even greater consequence began from the west -- the advance of the Russian conquerors, which, /94/ of course, exerted the greatest and most lasting influence upon the ethnographic conditions throughout Siberia. Advancing relentlessly, the stream of these not so numerous, but extraordinarily bold conquerors poured from the north and the west during the seventeenth century into the Amur region, passing over it like repeated tidal waves, and frequently ravaging it from one end to the other. Finally, many such movements on the mainland must have been felt on nearby Sakhalin, where, moreover, also from the south, through events like the gradual expansion of Japanese power toward the north, many changes in the original delimitation of its people had to follow.

S.S. 175 167 Now, what shifts in the habitation sites of the Amur peoples actually took place as a consequence of those events we can only gather from the historical reports concerning the Amur